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SOME RARE MEANINGS OF EXCLUDO

By Ira D. Hyskell

Here and there the verb excludo means "to fashion by hollowing out, carving." Georges' Lateinisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch (1913), Harpers' Latin Dictionary, and nearly all scholars have failed to recognize this force.\(^1\) To the suppression or avoidance of the different rare meanings many causes have contributed: the existence of several words more or less acceptable both in appearance and meaning for correction and emendation, the comparatively small number and wide diffusion of examples, a lack of exact parallels, the difficulty of perceiving the relation under the circumstances between the different forces, the assumption that the figurative senses came from the meaning "to hatch out"—an unhappy figure.

The meaning "to carve out" appears in the so-called Sanctae Silviae Peregrinatio 8. 2: "unus lapis ingens Thebeus, in quo sunt duae statuae exclusae ingentes." Here scholars have offered various emendations: Sittl, excusae; Cholodniak, excelsae; Pomialowsky, probably (as he says) excisae or exsculptae; Geyer, excusae and excisae. Heraeus keeps exclusae, which is defended by Löfstedt. The favorite emendation for excludo, probably because less change is involved, is excudo. But this is a word for "hammering out" and seems in the absence of examples not to have been used of "carving out."

In the form of a noun exclusor this force of excludo is well established and is accepted in the lexicons, being designated as a derivative of excludo, but there is no force defined under the verb to which it can properly be referred. The following examples are available: Henzen Inscr. 7229: "artis argentariae exclusor"; Aug. in Psalm. 67. 39: "in arte argentaria exclusores vocantur, qui ex confusione massae noverunt formam vasis exprimere"; Aug. in Psalm. 54. 22: "dicuntur et in arte argentaria exclusores, id est, ex quadam confusione massae, formae expressores"; Aug. de Spir. et Litt. 10. 17: "ubi

¹ See p. 408, below, for list of all the different meanings and examples. [CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY XIII, October, 1918] 401

est ergo gloriatio tua? exclusa est.¹ per quam legem? factorum? non, sed per legem fidei.² sive gloriationem dixerit laudabilem, quae in domino est, eamque exclusam, id est non ut abscederet pulsam, sed ut emineret expressam—unde et exclusores dicuntur quidam artifices argentarii; hinc est et illud in Psalmis: ut excludantur hi qui probati sunt argento,³ hoc est ut emineant qui probati sunt eloquio domini. sive gloriationem vitiosam de superbia venientem commemorare voluerit, eamque exclusam, id est eiectam et abiectam." Du Cange's Glossarium cites also as follows: "Vita S. Egwini Episc. Wigorn, cap. 3: et cum conflandi ferrum locus esset aptissimus, et fabris, et ferri Exclusoribus maxime repleretur (Adde Epistolam Gibbonis Floriac. ad Gregorium V. PP. pag. 404)."

Solinus uses excludo twice, both times with this meaning: "excluduntur⁴ ex illis (lapidibus) multa gestamina" (2. 41); "nam illine excluduntur⁵ signa ad facies hominum vel deorum" (5. 19). The MSS of Solinus consist of three families, RCNH and LMG (B), which are equally important, and SAP, which is of uncertain and unreliable authority. These two passages seem to be the only evidence for excudo in the sense of "carving out," but in the first passage excluduntur is conclusively supported by one branch of the first family and the entire second; in the second passage, since the first family goes astray, and P is interpolated from the second family, the decision falls on the latter family. Its two branches offer conflicting testimony, but LG support different words in the two passages. The conclusion, therefore, seems clear that the true reading in both places is excluduntur, and that LG erred in giving excuduntur in one place, rather than that a much greater error was made by LMGB.

In the sense of fashioning by hollowing out there are three examples in works on rural affairs, two of them being in contemporary writers of the classical period. The first is found in Varro R.R. iii. 9. 7: "in pariete exclusa sint cubilia earum (gallinarum)." The

¹ See p. 404, below, for comment on the meaning of exclusa est.

² Rom. 3:27.

³ Psalm 68:30.

⁴ excluduntur RCLMG, excuduntur NHAP, exciduntur S.

⁵ excluduntur MB, excuduntur LGP, excudunt A, excidunt I (RCN*HS).

MS tradition is above reproach. A few lines below Varro uses exculpta in the same sense, and Columella (viii. 3. 4) in the same connection employs excisa.

The second example occurs in Virg. Georg. iv. 57: "(apes) arte recentis excludunt¹ ceras et mella tenacia fingunt." The MS evidence may be interpreted as follows: the correct reading is somewhat more often found in **P** than in **M**; **a** is closely related to **R**, and very seldom gives an acceptable reading in opposition to this MS, so that here the testimony of **a** is almost equivalent to the missing **R**. The MS support for excludunt thus seems clearly to be superior. Jahn in Philologus, LXIII (1904), 66 ff., shows that Virgil drew on Varro R.R. iii. 16 and Arist. H.A. ix. 40 for material for this part of the Georgics. Varro does not refer to the making of honeycomb, but Aristotle uses the expression $\pi \lambda \acute{a}\tau\tau \tau \upsilon \tau \iota \iota$. It is very doubtful if excudo had such a meaning. No other examples of shaping wax, clay, or similar substances are available for excudo. But Varro, not to mention Palladius in later times, affords an unquestioned parallel for excludo, and Virgil certainly knew the passage.

This example from Palladius appears in the *Agric*. ii. 15. 17: "canalis longus a summo trunco ad imum debet excludi." Two of the three best MSS, **PLQ**, support *excludi*.

That figurative uses should occur, based on such literal developments as Virgil and Varro employ, is naturally to be expected. The first of these is found in Pliny Ep. i. 3. 4: "effinge aliquid et exclude quod sit perpetuo tuum." The ten-book family, \mathbf{BF} , gives an untenable reading, which the Aldine edition, \mathbf{a} , did not accept, though the editor had at hand the now lost Parisinus of this family with presumably the same reading as \mathbf{BF} . Accordingly, the decision lies between the *lectio difficilior*, exclude, supported by the nine-book family and \mathbf{D} , and excude, supported by \mathbf{m} and the Flores codex

¹ excludunt Pa, excudunt (cudunt in ras.) b, excudunt M alique minores.

² excludi LQSEG, excudi PVT, excidi F.

³ exclude MVD, excude mouxaV² Flor. Mor. Auct., excute BF. These MS readings were kindly contributed by Professor E. T. Merrill. For his estimate of m and the Flores Moralium Auctoritatum see Classical Philology, XII (July, 1917), 260, and V (April, 1910), 183, respectively.

⁴ The discussion on pp. 407 ff., below, shows that *excute* cannot be taken with any particular probability as a mistake for *excude* in an attempt to support the latter. The

along with the doubtful help of some corrected MSS of the fifteenth century. But the failure of **D** to agree with the other MSS of its family greatly weakens the evidence for *excude*. A simple, normal solution of every problem involved would follow the supposition that the ten-book family read *excute* by correction from *exclude*, that the nine-book retained the original reading, and that the Verona archetype had *exclude* in the first hand, which **D** copied, *excude* in a second, which the others preferred.

The next figurative use is noteworthy because in the context "exprimentes," "confinxerunt," and "conquirere atque componere" indicate the force of excludo. The passage comes from Tertullian Pud. 8: "meminimus enim et histriones, cum allegoricos gestus adcommodant canticis, alia longe a praesenti et fabula et scaena et persona, et tamen congruentissime exprimentes. . . . sic et haeretici easdem parabolas quo volunt tribuunt, non quo debent aptissime excludunt.1 quare aptissime? quoniam a primordio secundum occasiones parabolarum ipsas materias confinxerunt doctrinarum. vacuit scilicet illis solutis a regula veritatis ea conquirere atque componere, quorum parabolae videntur." The MSS support excludunt alone, but Reifferscheid was so dissatisfied as to conjecture ex se (or exemplis) ludunt, and Hartel after first writing excudunt later preferred excludunt, "to hatch out," which Hoppe followed, classing it with two other figurative uses. Löfstedt, however, in his comment on the Peregrinatio passage cited above was not assured of this: he recognized a difference and called this use "eigentümlich." This shows the difficulty of treating excludo as heretofore usually attempted.

Even more valuable for the purposes of this paper than the preceding passage is the citation on page 402, above, from Aug. de Spir. et Litt. 10. 17.² Augustine was at a loss to explain certain uses of excludo in the Scriptures: he thought the word meant "to give expression to," or rather "to make prominent (by expressing)."

acceptance of excude as the true reading presumes an accumulation of three errors, in BF, MV, and D, which seems most unlikely in view of the facts set forth in the discussion below.

 $^{^1}$ De Labriolle (Tertullien, Paris, 1906) quite missed the meaning when he gave the translation, "Ils les abiment à merveille."

² For essentially the same discussion see Aug. in Psalm. 54. 22 and 67. 39.

Though he forced the meaning, as shown by *ut emineret expressam* and *emineant*, it is evident beyond a doubt that he was acquainted with the meaning under discussion; otherwise he would never have advanced such an interpretation.

Most scholars avoid excludo in other passages where, though the meaning is different, there is a similar divergence from the normal force. The two earliest instances, both probably with comic effect, are found in Plaut. Pseud. 510: "excludito¹ mi hercle oculum" and in Ter. Phorm. 989: "vel oculum exclude." As an emendation in these passages many editors accept Ritschl's exlido, on the meaning of which see Nonius 291: "elidere etiam excludere significat." Possibly a variation of the same force appears in Dig. x. 4. 6: "gemma inclusa auro alieno vindicari non potest, sed ut excludatur, ad exhibendum agi potest."

These uses are closely related to those found in connection with the striking out of fire from flint, as in Pliny N.H. xvi. 208: "exploratorum hoc usus in castris pastorumque repperit, quoniam ad excludendum³ ignem non semper lapidis occasio est." The MS evidence as a whole in the four examples just given is conclusively in favor of excludo.

Before taking up the next citation, an examination should be made of the words or expressions really used in referring to the striking out of fire from flint. The only well-attested words seem to be excludo (Pliny N.H. xvi. 208) and, if the line is genuine, excudo (Virg. Georg. i. 135). The normal usage in the literature is to employ two words, one to denote the striking, the other the leaping or giving out of the spark, as percutio with exsilio (Lucr. vi. 162), with excito (Sen. Q.N. ii. 22), with edo (Pliny N.H. xxxvi. 137), with emitto (Isid. Or. xvi. 4. 5), ferio with prosilio (Ov. Fasti. iv. 795), caedo with evolo (Lucr. vi. 314), concutio with elicio (Eugipp. Vita Sev. v. 21), elicio with conflictu atque tritu (Cic. N.D. ii. 9. 25), and exsilio with omission of word of striking (Isid. Or. xvi. 3. 1). In this list, since the idea of striking is involved in a separate expression rather than with excludo

¹ Sex cliidito B, excludito reliqui.

² exculpe A, exclude reliqui.

³ excludendum D¹EG, excudendum D².

and excudo above, probably belong elido with conflictu (Pliny N.H. ii. 113) and excutio with conlido (Lact. de Ira Dei x. 18).

One example remains to be considered, namely, Virg. Aen. i. 174: "ac primum silici scintillam excludit² Achates." Though excutit is fairly well supported in the MSS and seems to be an appropriate word for this meaning according to the citations just made, it has no exact parallel elsewhere. Excudit is somewhat better supported in the MSS, but does not have the secure place by any means in the literature as a whole which the lexicons and references of scholars indicate; it is to be eliminated from Pliny N.H. xvi. 208; its third and only other appearance is in a passage (Virg. Georg. i. 135) already under suspicion and bracketed by Ribbeck. Excludit lacks good MS authority in this place, but Pliny the Elder affords an unquestionable parallel, Plautus and Terence show a closely related use—to denote the putting out of an eye—and the further advantage is added of being the more difficult reading. These three words, then, have quite different claims from what at first appear to be theirs.

A cursory examination might lead to the conclusion that excludo, excudo, and excutio through their similar appearance are generally and widely confused in MSS irrespective of their meanings. Such a conclusion is not borne out by an examination of the more comprehensive critical apparatus. The confusion that does exist is practically limited to the meanings discussed in this paper. For example, in Virgil excutio appears in its unquestioned meanings twenty-three times without either of the other two verbs being present as variants. The same percentage holds true for the other two in their unquestioned meanings in Virgil. In all the literature excudo, "to hammer out," literally and figuratively, was found as the true reading on a

¹ Cf. "nubes ignis cum semina multa excussere suo concursu" (Lucr. vi. 160): "(aër) excussit calidum flammis velocibus ignem" (Lucr. vi. 688); "imbrem excusserunt procellae" (Curt. iv. 7. 14); "lacrumas excutiunt mihi" (Plaut. Capt. 419). Bünemann was undoubtedly wrong in conjecturing excuditur in Lact. de Ira Dei X. 18, as mentioned in Brandt and Laubmann's edition.

² excludit **m**, excutit **R**, excudit (d in ras.) **b**, excudit **M** aliique minores. The gloss in C.G.L. iv. 67. 27: excludit: fabricat, excutit, as Professor W. M. Lindsay writes me, is presumably from this passage, having strayed from the Abstrusa Glossary into the Abolita portion (see Jour. Phil., XXXIV, 267 ff.), and constitutes a "doublet" (cf. Jour. Phil., XXXIV, 271) along with C.G.L. iv. 71. 4.9 excudit: fabricat, excutit, but which is the right doublet and which is the wrong doublet is an open question.

MS basis in eleven passages.¹ Neither excludo nor excutio appears as a variant reading. When, however, it comes to the meanings discussed in this paper, the case is far different: excludo appears alone several times; excudo alone, once—in a line of questioned authenticity; excludo and excudo, twice; excludo, excudo, and excutio, twice; excludo, excudo, and excutio, three times.²

An interesting problem arises from the fact that excludo, excudo, and excutio (or excido), which are in their unquestioned meanings reasonably free from confusion with each other, suffer a great confusion in the forces here discussed. If excudo, for example, was actually used to denote "hollowing," "carving," or "striking out," why should there not be the same freedom from confusion with the other words as in the use to denote "hammering out"? The reason seems evident, that excudo was not used to denote "hollowing," "carving," or "striking out," but resulted from correction of excludo in its rare and unknown uses. Furthermore, such corrections, freely made as they were, might well go so far occasionally as to eliminate excludo. This actually did happen in the first family of the Solinus MSS (second example cited), in the ten-book family of the Younger Pliny's MSS (Ep. i. 3. 4), and almost so in the eight-book, not to mention the total disappearance from the inferior third family of the Solinus MSS (both examples cited); and yet the other families show that excludo is to be regarded as the true reading in all three places. So it is not surprising if the same fate almost befell exclude in Virg. Aen. i. 174, especially since Virgil has only one family of MSS.

These conclusions are not materially influenced by the appearance of *excudo* without variant readings in a line which Ribbeck regarded as interpolated,³ namely, Virg. *Georg.* i. 135: "ut silicis

¹ These passages are the following: Plaut. Men. 403; Cic. Att. xv. 27. 2; Virg. Aen. vi. 847; Curt. iv. 2(9). 13; Tac. Or. 9; Apul. Flor. 7; Tert. Res. 6; Tert. Nat. ii. 4; Arnob. adv. Nat. ii. 17; Auson. Pref. ad Cent.; Salv. de Gubern. (C.S.E., VIII, 1).

² Note that in every instance there is an attempt to adapt the word to the meaning. *Excido* is not used of striking out fire, nor *excutio* of carving. Only *excludo* and *exsculpo* are used of putting out an eye. Even *excute* in Pliny the Younger might have been modeled after the examples quoted in n. 1, p. 406.

³ Schaper defends the line by maintaining that, if vs. 135 be rejected, vs. 131, containing *ignem removit*, cannot stand. He points out that a similar relation exists between vss. 129 and 130 (first half) on the one hand and vss. 139 and 140 on the other, also between vs. 130 (second half) and vs. 137. But no logical responsion for the whole passage can be worked out, for no later specific reference to vs. 131 (first half) or to vs. 132 is apparent, nor do vss. 143 and 144 refer back to a preceding statement.

venis abstrusum excuderet ignem." For, in addition to the doubt about the line's genuineness or the possibility that excludo might have been totally supplanted here, there could be a very serious doubt entertained whether excudo, a word of forging, was ever extended to cover any operations connected with stone. The evidence for such an extension seems to rest on this passage and on whatever support can be derived from Aen. i. 174, a very questionable basis for the establishment of a quite radical divergence of meaning. Those who regard the line as genuine might well consider the writing of excluderet by correction of excuderet.

The development of these meanings of *excludo*, which took place probably in much the same way as those of *exprimo*, may be represented as follows:

Excludo

- A. To shut out
- B. To force out1
 - I. To force out, literally
 - 1. To put out (an eye), Plaut. Pseud. 510; Ter. Phorm. 989
 - 2. To strike out (a spark), Virg. Aen. i. 174; Pliny N.H. xvi. 208
 - 3. Possibly, to remove (a gem from its setting), Dig. x. 4. 6
 - II. To fashion by forcing out, i.e., hollowing out or carving
 - 1. To fashion, literally
 - a) To hollow out (a nest), Varro R.R. iii. 9. 7
 - b) To make (the cells of a honeycomb), Virg. Georg. iv. 57; (a groove), Pallad. Agric. ii. 15. 17
 - c) To carve out (a statue, ornament), Sol. 2. 41; Sol. 5. 19; Peregr. 8. 2
 - 2. To fashion, figuratively
 - a) To compose (a literary work), Pliny Ep. i. 3. 4
 - b) To interpret (a parable), Tert. Pud. 8
 - c) To give expression to (boasting), make prominent (by expressing), Aug. de Spir. et Litt. 10. 17; Aug. in Psalm. 54. 22; Aug. in Psalm. 67. 39.

The object of this paper has been to show that *excludo* has some rare meanings which are not generally recognized. Support is found in some degree by referring to an accepted use in the form of

¹ For a similar shift of meaning cf. Virg. *Georg.* ii. 75: "angustus in ipso fit nodo sinus: huc aliena ex arbore germen includunt."

a noun exclusor, but mainly by quoting uses of the verb itself with the MS evidence from Plautus, Terence, Varro, Virgil (twice), Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, Tertullian, Solinus (twice), Palladius, Augustine, and the Peregrinatio. The only verb whose generally accepted range of meanings is materially diminished by the recognition of these forces is excudo. From the definition of this word is to be removed the fashioning of soft substances like wax and of stone, including probably the striking out of fire from flint.

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